CHAPTER FIVE

000 WHEN I was about five years old, my young brother, the third child of the family, died suddenly and created a gap of about seven years between me and the next child. My elder brother and I thus grew up apart from my younger sisters for a good part of our childhood.

357 524 Two boys were brought up to play with my brother and help my mother with the garden: I was given Mya Shwe to play with. A-Shwe and I were very attached to each other and liked the same games. Burmese children are not as interested in dolls, balls, animals and other toys of the European child; our treasures were chiefly in the form of seeds which play the same part in Burmese children's games as balls do in Western games. We had *go-nyin*, round flat seeds about two inches wide, from a jungle creeper which grew in my grandmother's garden in Ye. We rolled these along the ground to hit other go-nyins, like ninepins. When the family ate custard apples we collected all the seeds and washed them. These seeds provided us with several games; we scattered them in front of us and tried to flick as many as possible into a hole dug into the ground, or sometimes to flick each seed to touch another, removing one each time it touched until we could clear all the scattered seeds.

524 262 We could do this with tamarind seeds too: these were pretty black shining ones. We could get them from the kitchen but always preferred to take one of the boys on walks to tamarind trees. Hla Aung climbed the tree and brought down a cluster of fruits surrounded by delicate feathery leaves. We took a packet of salt along and ate the acid fruit dipped in salt, against all orders; we shredded the leaves till we got a big pile, wrapped them with the rest of the salt in stout paper, buried it a few inches in the ground and then all took turns at jumping on the spot, shouting: "*Bok-hsi-yay-Hsan, Hsan*: Oh pressed oil, come sprinkle, sprinkle." The moisture from the fresh leaves came out with the stamping and dissolved the salt, making a lovely savoury mess of the crushed leaves which we unearthed after a while and ate greedily. Then A-Shwe and I carried home the seeds to add to our collection.

524 • 301 *Kha-yay zi* also we collected. These are seeds of the *kha-yay*, a tall tree which scatters its ripe fruit on to the ground where they lie until they dry, and shed their flesh and leave the seeds hidden amongst the

grass and leaves for us to find. But expeditions to the kha-yay trees were approved of because the tree also scatters pretty white starry flowers of a delicate fragrance; the beautiful ladies in my dreams always wore *kha yay pan* in their hair. A-Kyi took us on these walks; we collected seeds, and the flowers we deposited in cane sieve trays; when we got home we helped her to thread them in garlands, the first for the altar, next for my mother's hair and the rest for A-Kyi and the girls. Our tiniest seeds were the *yway si*, seeds of the *adenanthera* tree, bright red and black seeds about the size of an orange pip. Goldsmiths use them as their lowest unit of weight, ninety-six of these seeds forming one tola. They were very difficult to find and I used to pun and call them *ma-yway si* (cannot pick seeds), but it was exciting to turn over a leaf and see the seed suddenly, like a bright ladybird asleep.

My brother was very scornful about our girlish *sètauk-tè*, seed flicking games, but sometimes when Hla Aung and Hla Maung were working he would join in the *son-la ma-la* game, guessing whether a pile of seeds was *son*, a pair, that is even; or *ma*, female, that is odd. We could play this to gamble our privileges or possessions on the strength of guessing right. I always annoyed my brother at this game; when it came to my turn to pose the question I would take as great a pile as my two hands could cover because I loved counting. My father told me I was mathematical, and so I had counted everything I could; I knew the number of steps leading up to every pagoda we had visited, how many matches there were in a box, how many holes the lattice work round our house contained, and now I counted hundreds of custard apple seeds while my brother tried his best not to hit me, to swallow his impatience to see whether he had guessed right or wrong. He himself hated to count.

On moonlight nights my mother gave permission for A-Kyi and the other girls to play with us in the company of the male servants and clerks. We played *bi-gaung-tan*, the comb seller, in which we formed a long row one behind the other to form the teeth of a comb, and after a long altercation between the head of the row—the seller—and the catcher, the latter tried to catch the end person on the row. Or we drew lines of white lime on the red gravel road outside and played *htok-si-tan*, in teams, one team "keeping" the lines and the other dashing through until a member got trapped by the keepers. I can still see the long line of the human comb waving sinuously as the players ran to and fro, and the straight white lines of the htok-si-tan, as patterns in the flood of moonlight. They were invariably broken by a bout of "cock-fighting" to exhaust everyone's legs and lungs and spirits before bed.

The Burmese representation of a cock walk is to sit on the haunches, and then slide each foot forward and sideways while in that position, in

Officer have appeared as higher sources of authority which are present not far away, and the village headman has lost much of his standing as elder person responsible for law and order, retaining chiefly his position as tax-collector. This is to the loss of village administration.

As a-so-ya mins, men like my father had more power and prestige than they had money. The salary of a B.C.S. II Officer, which ranged from Rs. 300/- to Rs. 900/-, was enough to ensure easy living and a certain amount of saving for old age, but in the place of the expensive carpets, glass, silver, uniformed servants and tinned foods which we saw in English officials' houses, they had to spend what might seem to foreigners a disproportionate amount on two items: jewellery for the women and financial help to relatives. Jewellery is not a vanity for a Burmese woman but an article of dress, worn both day and night, in varying degrees according to whether she is working or out on pleasure. The word for jewellery does not include any description of gems, but is *let-wut let-sa:* wear for the arms and such. When servant girls enter a household the humblest of them is given a gold chain to hang around her neck or a bangle for her wrist. Thus among the classes who have any money to spare beyond that for mere sustenance, from the more affluent cultivators, the small traders and shopkeepers and clerks, to "rich" land-owners, mill-owners and government officials, a great amount of money is spent on jewellery. Not to have any would be an unbearable shame.

A complete set of jewellery for a well-dressed woman comprises the following articles, all worn together when attending shinbyus, ear-boring and marriage ceremonies, official functions and numerous other occasions. For the hair a *sado*, a hairpin with a single large diamond on the end; a comb with teeth of gold and a row of diamonds set closely along the back of the rim; a *sein-pan gaing*, a gold hairpin with a cluster of flowers to hang and dangle, set with diamonds. These articles have the gold parts embedded in the knot of hair and only show the diamonds. Round the neck are worn the *lè-gat*, a narrow gold collar set widely with diamonds, fitting like a vice; below this a double row of small pearls tied tightly behind with red tassels; the *lè-ton* "trembling necklace"—a "choker" necklace—sitting so that little chains set with diamonds hang from it all round the neck and tremble; a chain with a diamond locket below this. In the ears are worn single diamond studs. On the jacket five diamond buttons, attached to gold rings set with diamonds, fasten the button loops. On the wrists and hands diamond bracelets and as many rings as possessed, of rubies, emeralds and sapphires set with diamonds are worn. A young girl also wears hollow anklets of gold round her ankles. In addition to the above, the richer minkadaws and wives of big traders possess corresponding pieces of rubies, emeralds and

301 sapphires to wear in the house or on informal occasions. No wonder a man groans when his wife bears him four daughters to be provided with jewellery.

135 301 511 Although Burma possesses no diamond mines, it has undoubtedly been a gem country from early times. The regalia of the Burmese court displayed at the South Kensington Museum in London, encrusted and coruscant with rubies set one against the other, row upon row, must be seen to get an idea of how rich in gems was the small kingdom of Burma. Its rubies, sapphires and jade are unrivalled in the world. Jade has been worked since the 13th century, but unlike the transparent gem stones, it has not been highly prized by the Burmese people who call it, merely, *kyauksein*, green-rock. Almost all is sent to China, in valuable quantity and quality, from the tract round the Kachin Hills in Northern Burma, near the town of Mogaung, where, as "the magic powers of heaven and earth are ever combined to form perfect results; so the pure essences of hill and water became solidified into precious jade."

If jade is green-rock, the ruby is red-rock, but it is also *badamya*, gem, jewel, possession of highest worth. The ruby mines at Mogok have given the world the Burma ruby, famous amongst these rare precious stones which vary from deep crimson or purple to pale rose. Here also are found precious sapphires; the two lying in crystalline beds flashed with mica and embedded also with garnets and spinels of all colours, which the poorer people can use for their let-wut let-sa, set in silver, if they cannot buy gold, from the silver mines at Bawdwin about 50 miles away. An ordinary family like ours, with children for whom an expensive modern education is provided, possesses only the "utility" pieces for each member of the family, *i.e.*, the buttons, chains, bangles, rings and ear studs; and a hairpin and comb for the eldest, but this is considered as being poor in let-wut let-sa for a family of our standing. It can be imagined then what good housewives Burmese women have to be. A relative of mine who began petty trading as a young girl, was wearing in her middle age diamond rings, one of which held a single stone with the base a little over half an inch in diameter. But this can be done with less self-denial than it sounds, because all Burmese people have the same foods and ways of enjoyment, and a man does not develop more expensive habits or likings when he grows richer.

602 The financial help given to relatives is a part of our family system. It is difficult for nations whose sons go out to work in foreign lands and whose boarding houses contain old fathers and mothers waited on by paid labour, to realize the strong family unity that still exists among nations like the Burmese. Even the naming of relationships knits them together: cousins become "brother-one-womb-removed"; my father's

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

882 304 and reminiscences of other ceremonies of the kind that they have witnessed. Usually the gold needle is bent round and left in the wound, but poor people sometimes pass a piece of string through and tie it. This is turned round and passed backwards and forwards daily till the sides heal, and then begins the process of enlarging the hole to receive the na-daung, a big tube an inch long and from half an inch to three-quarters in diameter. This takes a very long time, and is less pleasant even than the first boring. Some do it with a gold or thickly gilt metal plate, which is rolled up and passed through the hole. The elasticity of the metal makes it constantly tend to expand, and so the hole is gradually enlarged. A commoner method, however, is by introducing stems of the kaing, or elephant grass. As many of the little stems of the inner blade as will go through are passed in, and daily their number is added to until a considerable width is attained. When kaing grass is not available, little splints of the thekkè kyaung are made use of. This is the ordinary thatch of the poorer sort of houses, and almost universal in the country districts, but forbidden in the large towns on account of its inflammable character. Then, after a time, the nā-kat is brought into use. This is a curious ear-plug, big at both ends, and smaller in the middle, where the two parts screw into one another. The screw is passed through the lobe of the ear, and the other portion is then twisted on. These nā-kat are gradually increased in size, until at last the orifices are large enough to receive the na-daung, the regular ear-cylinders. These are of various make and material, the latter being formerly regulated by the sumptuary laws in independent territory. The royal family, both males and females, had them of gold, richly set with jewels, often a single large brilliant in front, or a diamond surrounded by a ring of emeralds, while the back was a cluster of rubies. The right to wear these was also extended to the higher ministers and their families. Others wear gold, plain hollow tubes, or with the ends filled up with delicate *repoussé* work. Those who cannot afford this content themselves with solid amber plugs, which, when they are without a flaw, are worth three or four pounds sterling apiece. Finally, the poor content themselves with

882 304 301 [369] [342] 301 565

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

hollow pipes of glass, coloured in a variety of tints. The shape is somewhat peculiar, a slight irregular concave, if I may be allowed the expression, the front being a little larger in diameter than the back. Some of the princesses wore very costly na-daung, the diamonds, and especially the rubies, for which Burma is celebrated, being exceedingly fine. The men, except those of high rank, very seldom wear them, unless on exceptional feast days. Women ordinarily put them on whenever they go out. Poor people keep the holes open with a roll of paper or cloth. A *chic* damsel very often courts attention by carrying spare cheroots dangling from her lobes. Elder women who subordinate personal appearance to bodily comforts usually do the same thing on a journey. It secures them a smoke whenever they may want it, and the huge green cheroots are not easily carried in the penetralia of the Burmese female dress, while if they were in the travelling box, they might be abstracted by unscrupulous youngsters.

It is curious to notice how much the custom is falling into disuse in the larger towns with the men. Even among the wealthier classes you seldom see a man wearing a na-daung of the largest size. Those of the thickness of a pencil or a little less are still common, but they too probably will pass out of use shortly. Yet this used to be looked upon as the distinctive mark of Burmese nationality. Probably, nowadays, the tattooing is considered sufficient; while the ear-plugs were certainly inconvenient things, and afforded obvious attractions to robbers. But with the women ear-boring is still universal, and probably will continue so as long as the men go on tattooing, notwithstanding the pain of the process. The na-daung are as characteristic of the Burmese women as the flapping tamein.

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

527 353 brilliant-coloured chintz, or paper, forms a roof studded with red, blue, or green stars and rosettes of tinsel paper. Great mirrors, swinging and other lamps, statuettes of wood or stucco, candlesticks with glass shades, clocks, German half-crown engravings, and gay Chinese lanterns hang or stand about. The floor is literally covered with silver and gold cups and betel-boxes, of all sizes, from that of a soup-tureen down to a breakfast cup. Some are plain; some of that *repoussé* work at which the Burmese silversmiths are so clever. The great majority of these are of course borrowed from friends (of another street or quarter) or hired for the night from the chetty pawnbrokers. A few chairs and tables stand about for any European visitors who may come, and they are sure of a friendly welcome. At the back of the 527 292 room in a long line, behind the mirrors and statuettes, sit the girls, decked out in their most expensively embroidered skirts and gayest silk neckerchiefs. They are literally ● 301 loaded with jewellery. Round their necks and over the bosom hangs the broad network of the dalizan, formed of silver or gold fishes and flowers linked together. The nadaung, the huge gold plugs or circlets in their ears, sparkle with rubies and emeralds. So do the bracelets on their arms and the rings on their fingers. Each girl as she sits is worth many hundred rupees. It is probably for this reason that they are made so inaccessible, seated behind the lamps and lights. If admiring swains could get at them, so could other individuals, whose regard for the jewellery might exceed that for the commandments. The young women may therefore be supposed not to care so much for the Sôndawgyi *fête* as their brothers. Most of the girls are of course daughters of the house. If, however, the householder has not womankind enough, he simply goes into the bazaar and hires as many personable-looking damsels as he may find necessary. They are as much a part of the display as the silver cups and the looking-glasses. A band at one end 527 of the room discourses music fitfully. Occasionally a girl, too young to have attained to the dignity of jewellery, gets up and dances and sings for a while. Musical instruments of different kinds, pattala, hnè, and migyaung, harmonicons, trumpets, and alligator guitars, lie scattered about here and

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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far as personages of the Burmese royal blood were concerned. The descendants of Mahā Thamada never went on their own legs in the open air. If they did not mount an elephant, some official was honoured with the weight of majesty on his back. In the same way, while a humble subject "eats," a pôngyi sônpônpethi "assimilates," or "nourishes his body with the alms of the pious"; and a king demeans himself to nothing less than "ascending to the lordly board." You may "call" or "invite" an ordinary man; to an ascetic you may "suggest an interview"; you would be a reckless man indeed if you sought a formula which in the faintest imaginable way would suggest to a king that you wanted him to come to you. When your visitor departs, if he is on familiar terms, he says, Thwa-mi nŏ, "I say, I'm going," and you politely respond, Thwa-ba, "By all means, go away"; if he stands a little in awe of you, he says, Thwa-daw-mi, "Honoured sir, I take my leave"; on the other hand, when, after a conference with a holy brother, you take your departure, you say, "My lord's servant does obeisance" (literally, "kowtows with his forehead"). When there was a king he did not give you the chance to say anything; he flung out of the throne and disappeared behind a blue curtain, while your eyes were fixed on the ground a couple of feet before you.

And so it goes on through a triple language, which makes Burmese of the palace an unknown tongue to the best foreign scholar. Tales are told of the ludicrous mistakes of men, who to ordinary people could speak Burmese, and therefore imagined they might venture on it with the king. Thus it was with a bluff English manager of one of the numerous mills which King Mindôn built and kept going till he got tired of them. This gentleman, in replying in the affirmative to some remark of the Lord of the Golden Palace, horrified the court by saying hôkde instead of the prescribed tin-ba payah, "I think with your majesty." The expression to palace ears was much the same as if some one were to say to His Majesty the King of England, "Right you are, old cockie." The court language is still kept up by all Burmese in their intercourse with superior officials.

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If the proprieties of language were carefully observed, the regulations as to wearing apparel and ornaments were

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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far more minute, and guarded with the most jealous care. The almost wretched character of the houses of Upper Burma, as compared with those in the lower territory, was very apparent; but what struck a stranger even more was the absence of the gay dress which is so pleasant and picturesque in Pegu and the seaboard provinces. There was indeed no law against any one wearing the most brilliant paso he could get; but the money was wanting to support the character. A man with a fine waistcloth would be considered to have the money at the back of it, and might have to sell his dress to meet the contributions demanded accordingly by the local official. In Lower Burma, every one has a feast-day dress, however poor he may be. He gets the money for it by a week's work, perhaps backed up by a lucky bit of gambling. Then he is at liberty to strut about and do nothing till the clothes get shabby, when he has to bestir himself again. In British territory, too, he might decorate his kilt with any number of representations of the peacock. An Upper Burman would have been promptly put in gaol—he would even have run some risk of being killed outright—if he ventured upon one. Peacocks were for personages of the blood-royal. Most people in independent territory wore no coats at all; but if they did wear coats, they had to be of the simplest possible "Chinese cut." Long-tailed taingmatheins, surcoats and the like, were reserved for officials, with regulations as to buttons, gold or otherwise, and other minutiæ which must have severely taxed the memory of informers and chamberlains.

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As we ascend in the social, or rather the official scale,—for all dignity came from office, or from a special patent from the king—distinctions thickened. Naturally in the land of the umbrella-bearing chiefs, the huge htis afforded a prominent and obvious mode of marking rank. The umbrella is twelve or fifteen high, with an expanse of six feet or more across. A poor man had nothing to do with these big umbrellas whatever, unless he were employed to carry one over his master's head. If he owned an umbrella at all, it had to be short in the handle and otherwise of Western limensions. Royal officials about the palace had their mbrellas painted black inside; country people, and those

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

565 not directly connected with the royal abode, had the palm-leaf
301 as near the original colour as the varnishing with wood-oil permitted. Some had permission to cover the wide surface with pink or green satin; others, more honoured, might add a fringe, either plain or embroidered. A golden umbrella was given by special grace to the highest wuns and the royal princes. A white umbrella belonged to the king alone and to religion, and not even the Eingshemin, the heir-apparent, when such a person existed, was allowed to use it. Matters were still further complicated by the number of umbrellas. Nine white ones marked the king; the Eingshemin had eight golden ones; and the rest of the royal personages numbers corresponding to their achievements, or the regard the king had for them. If they achieved too much, however, and became popular, they died. Distinguished statesmen and generals might have several gold htis, which were duly displayed on all public occasions, and were put up in the house in prominent places. The king's "agent" in Rangoon had only one, which very fairly represented the consideration in which Great Britain was held, and the official rank thought good enough to communicate with the Chief Commissioner. A favourite trick
565 of the king, Naungdaw Gyi, was to issue perpetually new
291 edicts as to the length of umbrella handles and the proper
301 measurement of the paso. District officials used to make
[661] large sums of money in the way of fines in those days, and occasionally themselves fell victims. There was nothing of the kind latterly, unless we may consider the queen Supayalat's announcement as to the way in which her hair was dressed, being patented as her sole prerogative, an instance of the same nature. Nevertheless, the general distinctions were very tenaciously held by. Innocent, unwitting Englishmen got themselves into serious trouble in Mandalay by going about carrying silk umbrellas with white covers. The offence was high treason and merited death. None actually underwent the supreme penalty, but there were a few who had vivid denunciations for the stocks.

565 The metal, size, and construction of spittoons, betel-boxes, cups, and the like household furniture for different grades were rigidly demarcated, and afforded the most

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The key to high positions lies in education in the high schools and Universities. Family support is necessary for this and the student is constantly aware of his obligation to succeed for their benefit. "One tree can support a thousand birds" illustrate the dependency of the relatives on the successful individual.

In order to succeed one needs each of these three qualities: KAMMA (fate or luck), NYAN (intelligence), and WIRIYA(industriousness The failure of any one can cause the lack of success. Ordinarily, however, KAMMA is blamed in cases of failure - and the other two credited for success. The concept of KAMMA includes merit and demerit compiled in all previous existences. Because of this convenient excuse the true causes of failure are seldom analysed by the individual and he does not have a sense of personal blame or shame. Also social condemnation does not fall heavily on the unsuccessful who has tried and failed. However, one should finish what he starts or not attempt it, "once you start climbing the pole you must reach the top". The individual may not achieve fame or fortune but he is expected to maintain his birth position. His relatives, who suffer shame if he does not, help him. A major contribution of the individual is an advantagous marriage within or above his occupational group.

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What does one strive for, by work, in the Burmese society? Not subsistence, for food is ordinarily cheap and easily attained in the villages. Clothing, shelter and the other necessities of life are also not the objective. The subsistence pattern is simple and essentially homogeneous throughout the village.

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The ordinary head of a household thinks of three major benefits to be gained from wealth. The first and most immediate are jewels to adorn the women of the family. The status of the family is reflected in public by the bangles, necklaces and earrings worn by the ladies. Diamonds are most prized and the size is important. However, most important is that each female be provided with "a set" of jewelry. The wife of the middle and upper status group particularly will prod the husband until he provides these necessities. The women's clothing and also the husbands and his son's must also be the finest they can afford.

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The second urge for wealth arises out of the desire for old age security. Hence gold coins are saved (hidden) against the day when

HKE Comb: Men use a western brand celluloid comb. Pathwe: one costing ten pice or 2 annas was used for more than a year. Camp: none. This item is "not greatly desired". 302 435

SHAY-TOE-PAHAT (Forward-push-shoe) Slippers: Burmese men's slippers consist of leather soles held to the foot by two leather straps. The straps, attached on each side to the sole at the instep converge in an arrow-shape between the big toe. The back is open. Pathwe: three pairs of "airplane" brand sandals were used per year. They were bought in Pantanaw at Rs 1/4 per pair. Camp: He has one pair of rubber strap tyred sandals which last for 4 months. They cost 8 annas per pair in Rangoon. Six or Seven are desired per year, here, since they wear out rapidly on the cement pavements. 291 435

KONE-PA-HAT (heel-shoe) Wooden Clogs: The soles are wooden, and they are attached to the feet by a single strap of rubber(tyre tube strips) or leather placed across the toes and held to the sole by nails. Pathwe: 3 or 4 pairs were used in one year. They were bought in Pantanaw at 8 annas. Camp: He used one pair per month due to hard wear on pavements and they cost 6 annas for one pair.

MYET-MHA-THOKE-PU-MHI (Face-rubbing-cloth) Face Towel: This item is made of cotton and measured a few feet square. Pathwe: two were used and lasted about one year. They were bought in Pantanaw at Rs 1/4 each. Camp: one old one was brought from Pathwe but it fell apart about a year ago. None is used now. Two are desired.

KO-THOKE-PU-MHI (Body-rubbing-cloth) Body Towel: Body towels are made of cotton and measure somewhat larger than face towels. One was used for every 3 or 4 months in Pathwe (by the whole family). They cost Rs 2/8/ or 3/- and were bought in Pantanaw. Camp: none. 515 435

PADAUK-LET-SUT (Ruby-hand-put-loop) ruby ring: A finger ring set with a ruby was in U Myiang's possession from the age of 18 to 30. It cost Rs 35/- 301

SWE LET SUT (gold hand-put loop) Gold ring: A gold finger was used from the age of 14 to the time of evacuation. It cost Rs 17/-

SWE CHE. THEE (Gold-gap-pin or button) Gold chain or button: A gold chain with attached gold buttons used to fasten the Burmese 291

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are the same as the men's. Pathwe: Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar and the three daughters each had one pair which would last for six months. They were bought in Rangoon by U Myaing at Rs. 5/- per pair for the adults and Rs. 3/- per pair for the children. Camp: none.

KON-HPA-NUT Wooden sandals: — Same as Burmese men's type. Pathwe: both ladies had one pair each, used for 3 months and cost 8 annas at Pantanaw. Camp: same quantity and price, but they only last 1 month on the hard pavement. The four daughters had one pair each lasting 2 months in Pathwe, bought in Pantanaw for 4 annas per pair. In camp the children also each have one pair, but they last only 1 month. The Rangoon article costs 4 annas per pair for the 3 younger daughters and 6 annas per pair for the elder daughter.

GAUNG-ST (head-bind) scarf: — A towel was used as a scarf around the head by Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar. Each had two lasting one year. They cost Rs. 3/- each in the Pantanaw market. The same two scarfs are in use in camp.

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SWE KYO' (hanging string) Gold chain with pendant: — In Pathwe the eldest daughter had a golden chain with a locket of a gold coin about the size of an 8 anna bit. The piece of jewelry weighed 1 tical and was worth Rs. 50/-. It was later sold.

SHIN-MAGAT-PYU (Diamond ear sticking false) Ear-plug:— In Pathwe Ma Aye Myaing had one pair of ear plugs set with synthetic diamonds. They were from a goldsmith in Pantanaw for Rs. 35/- . They have now disappeared. Burmese women have their ear lobes pierced when very young. "Plugs" are shafts about 1/8 inch or less in diameter. A socket on the inner side keeps the shaft from slipping out. The end showing is mounted with a decorative element, usually a precious stone.

KYAUK HPYU KA GAT (stone white earring) :— One pair of earring with white stones was bought at Mye-ni-gone for 3 annas and is now used by Ma Aye Myaing. One pair of gold earrings (SHWE NAGAT) belonged to each of the two younger daughters. They were bought for Rs. 30/- each from Pantanaw. They have been sold. The eldest daughter had a pair of synthetic diamond(SHIN NAGAT) bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 20/-, but these have disappeared. Earrings made of a mixture of

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gold and copper was made from a button in Pathee and used by the youngest daughter there and at present in camp.

KYAW-CHE-GYIN Silver anklet: — This item is a thin "U" shaped circle of silver worn at the ankle. The youngest daughters had one pair each. They were made by a silversmith in Pantanaw. He received from U Myaing two silver coins which he made into one pair and 3 coins into the other. For his labour he charged Rs. 5/- each. One pair was brought from Pathee and is in use in camp.

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THANAKHA Face powder: — For beautifying the complexion Burmese females (all ages) use a cream made from the wood of the THANAKHA tree. The wood is rubbed on a rock slab especially made for the purpose and mixed with water. Several other varieties of wood are used including KANAMET, TAUNG THAN KADO, and MATHAPYU. All the females of the family used this preparation. In Pathewe 90 or 100 pieces were received as presents from traders who came from Shwegyin. They rarely had to buy the sticks which were from 8 to 10 inches in length and 1 to 2 inches thick. In Pathee 6 sticks cost 8 annas. For one year they bought THANAKHA four times. Camp: one stick is bought at a time and lasts 3 or 4 days. It costs 3 annas a stick. Daw Aw Zar used the woods MATHAPYU, TAUNTHAN, KADO and KANAMET in Pathee. She would get one piece of each kind weighing 12½ ticals and these would last for one year. They were bought for Rs. 3/- for 20 ticals. She does not use this in camp.

The western brand "Cuticura" talcum powder MYET-HNAR-GHE (Face smoothener) was used by Ma Aye Myaing and the children in Pathee. Two tins bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 3/- per tin would last two months Camp: not used.

SHIN SWE HEE (elephant tusk comb) Ivory comb and MA HEE (bamboo combs) ranging from three to six inches in length, and an inch or inch and a half in width are used by Burmese women. The combs are kept wrapped up in a bun of hair in the back when not in use. Ma Aye Myaing had one ivory comb, bought for Rs. 5/-, in Pathee, but does not have this in camp. Both adult ladies had a bamboo comb apiece in Pathee. These lasted 8 months and cost 8 annas each in Pantanaw. Camp: they have each had a bamboo comb for a year now, costing from 4 to 6 annas.

●301
435

KIN GYI THI (Jacket button) Buttons: — Buttons come in matched sets of five for use in fastening the jackets. They are detachable, and range from ½ to ¾ inch in diameter for the most part.

A set of silver buttons were received by the eldest daughter as a present from a medical student, Miss Margaret Gaudoin, 6 months ago in camp. Ma Aye Myaing, her eldest daughter and Daw Aw Zar each had a set of crystal buttons costing in Pathwe Rs. 3/- or 4/- in Japanese currency during the Japanese regime. Daw Aw Zar's set cost 12 annas The children each had a set of green stone buttons costing Rs. 1/- in Pathwe. These items are still in use in camp.

Stone Slab for making Face Powder.

302
435

KYAUK-PYIN: (Stone Slab): — These are circular stone slabs about 1 foot in diameter and 1½ inches thick. Pathwe: these were used by the family. One was received as a present from a friend. One, with a diameter of 14 inches was "100 years old" and handed down to Daw Aw Zar by her mother. The third was bought at Pantanaw for Rs. 4/-. All three were left behind in the move. Camp: one with a diameter of 6 inches was received as a present.

OH HSI (Coconut oil): — The oil of the coconut meat, a yellow, slightly viscous fluid with a characteristic odour is highly prized by the Burmese women as a hair dressing. Pathwe: 20 ticals of oil, costing 8 annas, would be used per month. Camp: a small quantity is occasionally bought lasting 2 days at a time. It is purchased in the refugee camp for 2 annas.

293
435

PATHEIN HTEE (Bassaintown umbrella) parasol: — These are made of cloth with bamboo ribs and handle. The cloth is painted with flow and other designs in various bright colours. They are considered "elegant" and used primarily for social sauntering. The town of Bassein is famous as a place of manufacture for parasols. Pathwe: the children had two parasols, lasting 6 months. These were bought in Pantanaw for Rs. 3/- each. Camp: none.

[438]

HTEE, umbrella: — Ma Aye Myaing reports that she had an umbrella in Pathwe, the black cloth European kind, for which she paid Rs. 7/- It lasted 8 or 9 months. One was bought in camp, second hand for Rs. 3/- 5 months ago. It is good for 2 months more.

Item	Consumer	Pathes	Cams.
291 Sandals, slippers pairs	U Myaing.	3	(1) 3
511 Wooden clogs, pairs	"	3 or 4	(1) 12
178			
722 Face towels	"	2	0
Body towels	"	(1) 4	0
[301] Ruby ring	"	(1)	0
Gold ring	"	(1)	0
Gold chain and buttons for fastening shirts	"	(1)	0
Silver cuff links	"	(1)	0
Cotton Tamein	Ma Aye Myaing	10	(4) 8
"	Daw Aw Zar	(3 or 4) 6 or 8	(2) 4
"	Two elder daughters	(10) 15	(6) 18
Jackets	Ma Aye Myaing	(7) 9	(3) 4
"	Daw Aw Zar	6	(2) 3
"	Two elder daughters, each	(4 to 6) 6	(3) 6
Frocks	2 younger daughters, together	(10) 12	(6) 8
Bodices	Ma Aye Myaing	(5) 6	(3) 5
"	Daw Aw Zar	(2) 8	(2) 3.5
Underwear	Two elder daughters, together.	(8) 9.5	(4) 6
Panties	2 younger daughters, together.	(5) 7.5	(4) 6
Slippers, leather, pairs	all females, each	1	0
Sandals, wooden, pairs	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar, each	(1) 4	(1) 12
"	The four daughters, each	(1) 4	(1) 12

Cloth Table 1. (c)

Item	Consumer	Pathwe	Camp
Scarf	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar	2	Same
Gold chain with pendant	Eldest Daughter	(1)	0
Ear-plugs with synthetic diamonds	Ma Aye Myaing	(1)	0
"	Eldest Daughter	(1)	0
Ear plugs with white stones	Ma Aye Myaing	0	(1)
Gold earrings	2 younger daughters, each	(1)	0
Copper and gold earrings	Youngest daughter	(1)	Same
Silver anklet, pair	2 youngest daughters, together	(2)	Same (1)
Face powder, sticks of sandal wood	All females	(80 to 100) 24	(1) 64
Cuticura brand, talcum powder, tins	Ma Aye Myaing and her children	(2) 12	0
Face powder, sticks of other woods	Daw Aw Zar	3	0
Ivory comb	Ma Aye Myaing	(1)	0
Bamboo comb	Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar, each	(1) 1.3	(1) 1.3
Silver buttons, set	Ma Aye Myaing	0	(1)
Crystal buttons, set	Daw Aw Zar, Ma Aye Myaing and eldest daughter, each	(1)	Same
Green stone buttons, set	Eldest daughter	(1)	Same
Stone slab for making face powder	All females	(3)	(1)
Coconut oil for hair, tinals	All females	(20) 120	"small quantity" "few days"
Parasol	Children	(2) 4	0
Umbrella	Ma Aye Myaing	(1) 1.3	0

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must be getting a lot of demerit.

He then had to say something about the women's clothes in Rangoon. In Pathee the girls did not dare to dress in these fashions. "I do not even dare to look at some of them." In Pathee village there were no such things as girls with short sleeves, etc. Only the girls who had been to town affected them. The majority were HIN-GHIS of thick material. In Rangoon one sometimes has the feeling that one is looking at little dolls".

369
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562

U Myaing considers that there is a greater variety of means of earning money here. In Pathee there were only a few ways in which one could earn money and these were almost wholly confined to working fish and paddy and their by products. There was of course frequent interchange of goods with people from other villages inland and with boats from Upper Burma.

U Myaing has been in Rangoon before and had seen the electric tramway and things that the others in the family had not seen before, but even he has seen comparatively little. The others have not seen so manydifferent kinds of automobiles, they have never seen the trains, rickshaws, pony-carts etc.

In the matter of clothing, they find a difference between Pathee and Rangoon even in hair styles and in making up the face. U Myaing thinks that the people in Rangoon have inverted the order of things. According to him, a man can stay undressed except for a longyi and it can remain acceptable, while girls must wear clothing of thick material. This was the case in Pathee, whereas in Rangoon men wear thick clothing and women wear garments made out of sheer material.

The life of Rangoon is beginning to influence girls who come from the villages, and they are beginning to imitate their sisters in town in the use of short sleeved jackets, lipstick and "waves". In Pathee the usual facial make up is to daub the whole face with THANAT-KHA cream and leave it to dry. In Rangoon THANAT-KHA is used only as a powder base. Even Ma Aye Myaing has now a jacket which has sleeves that are elbow long.

[301]

In Rangoon, the men's garments are of better quality. In Pathee during the hot season the men stayed without any shirts on,

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

14. BURMAN MOTHER AND INFANT.

tempers Nature's discipline of knocks and bumps, as compared with the bare hard ground of the Indian hut. Nevertheless the young Burman's converse with his environment is unrestricted enough. By the time he is a year old he may be trusted to himself on a flimsy platform many feet off the ground or over the water. There are few things in the way of the child that it may not handle. The very cheroot its mother is smoking is a coveted plaything. The daily bath at the river-side or well has familiarised the child with another element. It may rush out into the first tropical shower and splash to its heart's content with its older playmates in the first tepid puddle. The Burman's regular exclamation of wonder or fear is "mother!"—*amè*.

When the child is a few months old, relatives and friends are assembled and entertained with tea and sweets to witness the ceremony of piercing the ears and giving a name. The Burmans have no patronymics. The name is chosen from a set of current euphemisms proper to the days of the week and their planets, according to the star presiding over the day of birth. The fancy of the parents and the prognostics of the soothsayer unite to decide the choice. Names are single or are compounded from two series (in Arakin from three). Common names, beginning with the "Sunday-son," are Ôn, Kyaw, San, Shwe, Po, Tha, Dun. Men's and women's names are taken from the same sets; only the courtesy-prefixes differ (p. 74). The needle-hole made in the lobe of the ear on the naming-day is expanded by means of plugs and rolls of bast. In the course of a few years the lobe takes a plug one-half to three-quarters

15. MUDLARKS.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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16. THE FIRST STEP.

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of an inch thick. This custom is on the decline, and the ears of boys are not so generally pierced as they used to be. The *naddung* or women's ear-plug of gold is being replaced by the *nagát* with its slender stem (No. 241). With eldest-born girls the fête is frequently deferred until they are twelve or fourteen, and is then celebrated with all the more splendour (p. 14).

Burman children are not weaned until the second or third year. Nevertheless they begin to receive solid food as soon as they will take it. The illusion prevails that the earlier they do so the stronger they will be. It is a chief source of infant sickness and mortality, and of the smallness of the families reared. A curious feature of Burman sociality is the promiscuous suckling of infants in the circle of relatives and friends.

[165]

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Children's heads are shaved in more or less fanciful ways up to the ages of ten or twelve, after which the hair is allowed to grow long.

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The road-fronts of the houses are always peopled with children. Children are equals and are free to roam through the neighbours' houses and plots, where they are kindly noticed. Adults take interest in their games, and make kites and reels, boats, carts and other simple toys for them.

[854]

17. THE WOODEN CRADLE (SAUNGBAN).

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

88. DAUTCHA YATHE.

Burma by pilgrims. Dried and gilt leaves are also brought as relics. The seeds of the tropical *ficus* species germinate in the fork of some other tree or in a cranny of masonry and flourish in such mould as they find. The roots develop thick bands which dislodge the masonry, but, interlacing in all directions, hold the loose material together while the tree lives; or else, when the host is another tree, strangle it and take its place (Nos. 77, 245, 321).

The *yahán* are not the only religious celibates of Burma. Several other classes follow this way of life, observing many or few rules, according to their own choice. Nearest to the *yahán* are the *yathé*. They depend chiefly on alms, but cultivate gardens for themselves. Their appeal for alms is mute, they accept them in money as well as in kind, and they lay up a store for actual needs. They take food in the forenoon only. The *yathé*, who are few in number, live in forest caves or in derelict shrines, and shift for themselves, singly or in small colonies. The majority study, though they do not teach; some are illiterate. They receive a certain deference from the laity, and themselves defer to the *yahán*. The *yathé* are the subject of harmless satire and burlesque in the plays; the *yahán* never. The robe is like that of the *yahán*, but dyed tan instead of yellow. *Yathé* mostly shave the head, but there is a class who wear the hair long. Certain of them use a headgear called *dautcha*, which forms a receptacle for an image of the Buddha. Some are addicted to mild forms of occultism such as alchemy (p. 111) and devising cabalistic diagrams for charms and tattoo-marks. These practices are under the ban of Buddhism. Pretensions to occult powers, such as have

84. CAVE-SHRINE NEAR MAULMAIN.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890)-1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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85. POTHUDAW.

been brought into a pseudo-connection with Buddhism by certain western neophytes of the Tibetan cult, are unheard of in Burma, which is the stronghold of primitive tradition.

Pôthudaw observe fewer *thîla* than *yathé*. They make their appeal with a gong of triangular shape (*kyîzi*, Nos. 22, 86), which spins on the string it hangs by, and emits a high and sustained throbbing note. *Pôthudaw* eat in the forenoon only. They accept alms in money and in kind, for which they carry baskets with a shoulder-yoke. They wear a white robe, shave the head, and pluck out the beard. *Pôthudaw* shift for themselves in *zayát*s about the temples and seldom remain long in one place.

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[871]

Mèthilá are female celibates who observe a rule parallel to that of the *Pôthudaw*. They shave the head. Their robe is like that of the other celibates with the addition of a jacket. The cloth is dyed a faint red. Both they and the *pôthudaw* are generally individuals who have lost their family ties. In some places *kyaungs* are provided for *mèthilá*, where they keep schools for girls. A few are possessed of learning. *Mèthilá* are about as numerous as *pôthudaw*, and both together are about one-tenth to one-twentieth as numerous as *yahán*, and several times more so than *yathé*. There is no class of female recluses answering to *yahán*.

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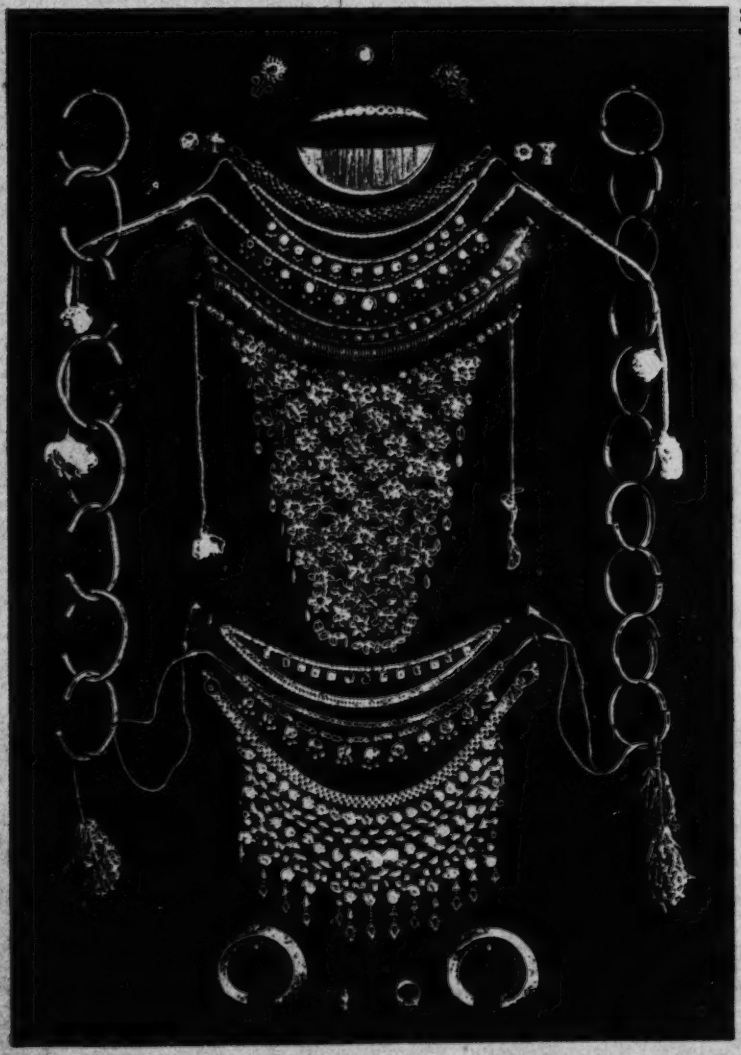
Payadyin form colonies in the vicinities of the principal shrines and of the cemeteries of large towns. They are the descendants of temple slaves, the condition to which captives in war were reduced both by the Burman and the Taláing races during their incessant

86. METHILA AT WORSHIP.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

[Corp. P. 110]

301



241. GOLD JEWELLERY. [To face p. 110.

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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the monastery. It is a day of excited celebration. Recalling the Great Renunciation, when Gautama left the royal court in his quest for truth, the boy, attired in princely robes, is feasted by his family and friends until the moment when he casts his finery aside to don the yellow robe of the Order.[21]

● [301] 562 881 779* 871

Girls experience a similar ceremonial initiation, when (to the accompaniment of vigorous music) their ears are pierced to take the ear-rings which are the sign of womanhood. They cannot attend the monastic schools with the boys, but other means are found for their education, and they certainly do not lag behind their brothers in intelligence, character or Buddhist zeal. Mrs Hla Oung recounts the story of a little maid taken to the monastery to be reminded of the five precepts, after some childish misdemeanour. (The monk was benign. "There was the faintest suspicion of a smile on his calm face, to show, I suppose, that her backsliding was not to be taken as a defection from the faith.") The 'charity of learning' seems, then, to be shared by girls as well as boys. The status, freedom and privileges of Burmese women have already been remarked and Mrs Hla Oung affirms vigorously that "the life of the Burmese woman is bound up in her religion. Buddhism has formed the character of the Burmese woman.... There are few Burmese women, even in the villages, who are unable to read and write," and the Buddhist scriptures form the ground work of their studies.[22]

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Not only are the monks numerous, but they are dispersed throughout the country. Every village has at least one monastery, and sometimes more. The educational influence of the Order has been, therefore, both organised and ubiquitous. In more recent times this influence has been challenged by new conditions. Government and mission schools have intervened, and the modern Burmese boy may only remain in the monastery as a novice for a brief, token period. But during the centuries which shaped the Burmese character and outlook, the monks as educators had no serious rivals.

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Nor has their ministry to the community been confined to education. Herbs and potions from the monastery are held in high esteem, especially in Upper Burma.[23] The monastery also serves as alms-house and asylum.

[21] For a good description of this ceremony v. Ananda Metteya, quoted by G. Appleton, *Buddhism in Burma*, pp. 22–23.

[22] Ma M. Hla Oung, "The Women of Burma," *Buddhism*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 61 (September, 1903, Rangoon); cf. a later series by Daw Mya Sein, "Kin Sein Hla," *Burma Today*, published by the Burma Government in India, 1944, in which the influence of the Monastery is not so strongly emphasised.

[23] "Theirs is faith cure rather than medicine," writes a Burmese correspondent, who cites cures from snake-bite, leprosy and hydrophobia.